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The housework that required skill or was sacred was performed by the relatives of the chief and chiefess. The female relatives beat the cloth and made the mats, minor household utensils, and so on. Male relatives made the other utensils, implements, weapons, and the like, and also planted, collected, and prepared food. Competent members of the family aided the chief in directing tribal affairs.

Etiquette

There was little formality or etiquette in the association of the chief with his people. On Nuku Hiva it is said that chiefs and chiefesses were always addressed as *haka-iki*, or *ha'a-te-pe'iu*. For example, *"o au nei, tu u haka-iki"* (It is I, my chief) or, *"Ua he'e oe, tu u haka-iki, ma te vaka!"* (You will go by the canoe, my chief[1]) or, *"Ka'oha nui te ha'a-te-pe'iu"* (Cordial greetings to the chiefess). *Te-i'i* and *te-iki* (shortened *te a'iki*, the chief) were terms used in addressing a young male chief. The corresponding forms for chiefly maids were *tahia* or the shortened *ti'a*, signifying noble, high born, gracious. Both of these terms have come in modern days to be favored prefixes to personal names and hence are very common; but in the ancient days they were evidently used in a much more restricted sense.

In Pua Ma'u all members of a chief's tribe were allowed to enter his house freely and without formality, but persons not of his tribe were not accorded this right. On Ua Pou, on the other hand, commoners were not allowed to enter the house of the *papa haka-iki* or the *papa ha'a-te-pe'iu*. This subject is discussed elsewhere under the description of the various aspects of sacredness of chiefs and chiefesses, which in Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva prevented commoners from entering chief's households but which produced no such regulations in Hiva Oa. The important matter in connection with etiquette is the complete lack of that tendency toward the elaborate formality characteristic of Tonga, Tahiti, and Hawaii.

Dress and Insignia

In the main the chief and chiefess wore the same style of dress as other members of the tribe, but on account of their wealth they had cloth and ornaments in greater quantity and of finer quality. *Hiapo*, a red *cloth* made of banyan bark, was *tapu* to *tama haka-iki*, first-born males. There were two things only that were definitely restricted to chiefs and chiefesses and that may be called chiefly insignia: the *tahi'i*, a pandanus leaf fan with carved handle; and the *to'o-to'o-pio'o* (*toko-toko-pio'o*), a thin staff, approximately six feet long, at the upper extremity of which was a band about three inches wide made of colored sennit cun-

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622 ningly wrapped and woven, surmounted by a small tuft of curly black
292 hair. It appears that on Nuku Hiva the *pa'e ku'a*, an oblong frontlet about fifteen inches long and nine inches broad, made of fine red and green feathers, was the headdress particularly of chiefs and chiefesses.
[304] On Ua Pou and Fatu Hiva, Mrs. Handy found that one small tattoo design on the ankle was the mark of the chiefly class and was restricted to them. A conch shell belonged to the chief and served him in summoning his workers and warriors.

Family alliances

622 On Hiva Oa the marriage of a chief with a representative of another
582 chiefly stock was for social and political reasons considered the most favorable. Formal betrothal and marriage were always with equals; but a chief or chiefess was allowed to marry a commoner if he or she desired to do so, and the children of such a marriage were regarded as equal in
[428] rank with the chiefly father or mother, as the case might be, inheriting property and rights as though of full chiefly blood. On the other hand, on both Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva a chief was never allowed to marry out of the *papa haka-iki* or *papa ha'a-te-pe'iu*. In Haka he Tau on Ua Pou it was said that the first son or daughter of the chief of a tribe in that valley always married some one of another chiefly family in the same valley and, inheriting the rights of the father or mother, became in time the head of the tribe. For the younger children suitable mates were found among the children of chiefly families of other valleys. Garcia (pp. 102-103), describing the Nuku Hiva convention, says:

> It is necessary that the one chosen should be also of the royal race, for it is not permitted to great chiefs to make a misalliance. An example of what I speak of was that of the queen Paetini who received us in the first place at the bay of Taiohae and Hakapehi. . . . She was the sole inheritor of numerous districts and she had as her principal spouse the chief or king of the Oumis, distant some miles, who came to see her only for two or three months; but about her were habitually two or three other lesser chiefs, who were likewise called her spouses.

622 A striking contrast between the marriage customs of chiefs in the Mar-
582 quesas and those on Tahiti and in Hawaii is furnished by the fact that
171 children of chiefly stock who married persons of common birth were regarded in the Marquesas as legitimate and were not outcasts as in Hawaii,
[847 nor killed at birth as in Tahiti. It may be truly said that there was no
848] such thing as illegitimacy and there was no infanticide. Another contrast with Hawaii is found in the fact that the *tapu* on the marriage of brothers and sisters applied as definitely and strictly in chiefly families as in others. There were no such close, consanguineous marriages as those of Hawaii to preserve the purity of chiefly blood.

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war were kept by the fighters during peace time. It seems probable that this was the particular domain of the war leaders. Melville (23, pp. 101-102) gives of such a house the following description:

> In its vicinity was another remarkable edifice, built as usual upon the summit of a pi-pi, and at least two hundred feet in length, though not more than twenty in breadth. The whole front of this latter structure was completely open, and from one end to the other ran a narrow verandah, fenced in on the edge of the pi-pi with a picket of canes. Its interior presented the appearance of an immense lounging place, the entire floor being strewn with successive layers of mats, lying between parallel trunks of cocoa-nuts trees, selected for the purpose from the straightest and most symmetrical the vale afforded.
>
> On entering the house, I was surprised to see six muskets ranged against the bamboo on one side, from the barrels of which depended as many small canvas pouches, partly filled with powder. Disposed about these muskets, like the cutlasses that decorate the bulkhead of a man-of-war's cabin, were a great variety of rude spears and paddles, javelins, and war-clubs.

The following description of the warriors', or men's *tapu* house is translated from Garcia's account (14, pp. 54-56):

> Picture in the middle of each village, sometimes before the house of each chief of any note, an esplanade in the form of a parallelogram, thirty to sixty feet long by fifteen to twenty-five wide, entirely built of stones, the upper surfaces of which are smoothly laid, the whole elevated three or four feet above the surface of the ground, sometimes much more. A notched tree trunk leaning against the side serves as a ladder. On such tapu platforms, on which women are never allowed to come, are erected lengthways with the rectangle, but slightly toward the rear, leaving an open space in front, little sacred shelters open in front. The thatched roofs are often supported . . . by small, low, wood columns . . . carved in the form of images of the god, Tiki. . . . It is in this house that all the men of the village customarily come together for their prayers to the gods, and especially for meals, which appear in some way to be regarded as religious rites. . . . Before the meal, each person offers a little bit of food which is hidden in the foliage, saying, "It is for the god (*na te Atua*"). We have even seen their priest but *popoi* in the mouths of their images. . . . The feast over, the remains of the repast are hung upon the walls. . . . . There are in different parts of the apartment, little ornaments and objects made of woven reed and leaves; these are the baubles of the superstition of the inspirational priests. . . . There are often, also, suspended over head by means of little pillars, the shrines decorated with strips of cloth enclosing the bodies of deceased persons of distinction.

THE WARRIORS' DRESS

One of the main reasons for the men's tattooing was to inspire fear in the minds of enemies. This may be regarded also as the primary purpose of most of the headgear and other ornaments used by men. Tattooing, dress and ornaments were to give the fighter the appearance of ferocity, power, alertness and speed. Fighters in general wore such dress and ornaments as they were fortunate enough to possess, were it *pa'e kea, pava hina, titi owoho,* or what not. (See Personal Adornment.) The war dress of the *toa* was always highly elaborate. Their position required it

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292 714 and their prowess gave them the means of acquiring the articles of self-decoration through the admiration of their fellow tribesmen, through the generosity of their chief, and through the acquisition of booty from defeated opponents in battle. The *ta'avaha*, a great radiating semicircle of tail feathers of the tropic bird and black cock's feathers, which surmounted the warrior's forehead above a pearl shell ornamented with appliqued carved tortoise-shell (see Dress and Personal Adornments), constituted the chief insignia of the war leader. A second article of dress, which some informants say was exclusively restricted to war leaders *(toa)* was the *kahu ko'oko'o* (Hiva Oa) or *kahu ku'a* (Nuku Hiva), which was either a long robe of cloth draped on the back and hanging to the ground, or a short mantle hanging over the shoulders and tied around the neck. The long robe was sometimes called *kahu ma'o (ma'o,* full length.) The material of this robe or mantle appears sometimes to have been the sacred white and sometimes the red bark cloth. Porter (24, p. 84) describes these articles of dress as follows:

> They wore a cloak, sometimes of red cloth, but more frequently of a white paper cloth, formed of the bark of a tree, thrown not inelegantly over the shoulders.

These robes were very *tapu* and were always kept in the warriors' house. It was forbidden to step on them, they were never worn while a man ate or smoked, a woman who put one on would die.

[304] Large plaques of pearl-shell or of wood colored white with clay were sometimes worn in front of the ears, standing out at right angles to the head and held by a band that ran over the head. The large whales' teeth ear ornaments, *hakakai,* were sometimes worn also with the broad end standing out before the ears. Garcia (14, pp. 88-89) describes warriors wearing great whales'-tooth collars. Melville (23, p. 83) describes a necklace made of boars' tusks. The loin cloth of a warrior was of red bark cloth and had a pendant tailpiece in which were tied many knots. Melville (23, p. 83) describes a fringed waist cloth of a warrior as follows: "The loins of the warrior were girt about with heavy folds of a dark-colored tappa, hanging before and behind in clusters of braided tassels." Over the loin cloth was worn a skirt of human hair *(titi ouoho).* A shoulderpiece of human hair, like a boa, held together on the breast by a large whale's tooth, was also sometimes worn on Hiva Oa—this was worn over the *kahu ko'oko'o.* In addition, small ornaments of hair were worn on the wrists and on the ankles. These ornaments for the ankles were frequently made of feathers instead of hair. The flowing of the hair and feathers in the wind, as the warrior ran, gave the impression of great speed. A customary part of the ornamention of a war leader or of any

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fighter who had killed a victim was an enemy's skull hanging on the back suspended from the neck (14, p. 88) or attached to the loin cloth or to the ankle. If a man did not own a skull, but was the fortunate possessor of a hand or perhaps merely of a finger of a revenge victim, this was worn on the loin cloth. Stewart (26, p. 213) describes a warrior with a "tremendous head of bushy hair frizzled widely in every direction, cultivated, it is probable, to add to the terror of his looks in battle."

WEAPONS

There seems to have been no restriction of any particular weapon to warriors or chiefs, except perhaps a small throwing club. The war leader carried a full equipment of those described below. In the later period after European discovery, guns, of course, came to be the most prized weapons. One informant, a chief at Pua Ma'u, insists that prior to that time natives had once used the bow *(pana)*, afterwards ceasing to make use of it. In historic times, the bow has been used only by boys for shooting fish in pools in the rocks by the sea. The use of the bow in this way in ancient times for fishing is confirmed by all informants. There is no doubt, therefore, that the ancient inhabitants knew the bow and arrow; but it is very doubtful whether it was ever used as a weapon in war.

The most important weapon that a warrior carried was his club *(u'u* or *akau toa)*. These clubs were of the two types shown in the accompanying sketches (figs. 12, *a* and *b*). Another club, less used, was shaped like an oar blade. There were several types of spears used, all of them made of casuarina. One of these was called the *mati kena* and had a simple shaft with a series of superposed points on the end cut out in such a way that those which pierced the body would break off and stay in it. A second type of casuarina spear, called *kepu*, consisted of a long shaft with a tapering point, the butt end of which was flattened like a narrow oar. (See fig. 12, *c*.) Porter (24, pp. 86-87) gives the following description of the spears that he observed:

> They have two descriptions of spears which they use in their warfare. Those by which they set the most store, are about fourteen feet in length, made of a hard and black wood, called toa, which receives a polish equal to ivory . . . The other kind are smaller, of a light kind of wood, and are thrown (?) with much accuracy to a great distance. At certain distances from their points they are pierced with holes all round, in order that they may break off, with their own weight, on entering a body, and thus be more difficult to extract.

Dordillon (8) gives the following terms for weapons: *taakeho*, lance, bayonet; *taaehi*, lance of pandanus wood; *patoatoa*, lance of young ironwood; *parahua*, tomahawk in form of an oar; *paeo* or *pakeo*, *mataku*, lance

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feasts did not come at fixed intervals but were regulated by the necessity for awaiting seasons of plenty. On all these occasions offerings were made at the tomb and at the sacred place of the local god and the sacred place was bedecked. If the man whose death was celebrated were of sufficiently high class, only chiefs were allowed to partake of the feast.

KOIKA OKE

Père Pierre describes feasting, the beating of drums and chanting in connection with the *ko'ika oke*, which, according to Dordillon (9), was celebrated to bring rain or to break a famine. For a month prior to this feast, sexual intercourse was prohibited; women were forbidden to make cloth, to amuse themselves, to bathe, anoint, or decorate themselves with flowers. The *tapu* was then lifted, these restrictions removed, and the memorial festival was celebrated with feasting and general rejoicing, including undoubtedly (though this is not stated) free indulgence of the sexual instincts. At this festival many games were played, such as top spinning and making of string figures. The clothes of chiefesses were orange and those of common women yellow, baked *ena* root being used as a dye for the orange and the raw root for the yellow. At this rite the sons and daughters of chiefly families and old men and women only might dance, and all danced naked. The feasting and dancing lasted from one to ten days (9).

KO'IKA VAIHOPU

Père Pierre (4) says that the *ko'ika vaihopu*, which was the second memorial festival, was the most famous of all. At this the participants chanted to the beating of drums and danced naked, old men and women being smeared with white earth so as to exaggerate their decreptitude. Men, women, and children were brought as though to be sacrificed as human victims, being carried entirely nude. They were not sacrificed, however, but in pantomime imitated the throes of death. Others impersonated the type of spirits called *fanaua* (see Spirits) which caused women to die in childbirth. Beyond this point the reverend father could not bring himself to continue his description, leaving it with the words "monstrosities," and "truly infernal bacchanals."

According to a Nuku Hiva informant, one feature of the *ko'ika vaihopu* was the exhibition of youths and maids. Before the feast they bleached their skins. They were dressed in all their finery and displayed themselves before the rest of the people, after which they danced. This festival, according to this informant, was celebrated only in seasons of plenty.

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(26, pp. 306-307) and the legend of the flight of the Na-iki from Atu Ona, which has been quoted, describes the *tau'a* of that tribe as having wife and children. If the office of inspirational priest was inherited, as it seems to have been usually, it goes without saying that such priests married. It is certain that recent *tau'a* in Pua Ma'u and Fatu Hiva married.

Costume of a Tau'a

The only type of dress distinguishing an inspirational priest from anyone else was his headdress. This is said to have been called at Pua Ma'u *pa'e hei pepe atua* (*pepe atua*, many gods). I could obtain no description of this headdress there. Stewart (26, p. 220) describes a *tau'a* wearing on his head "a dried banana leaf neatly and ingeniously wrought into a becoming toque," and elsewhere (26, p. 304), another wearing a tapa turban. In war they wore what was called the *hei pe'a* or *hei maka-maka*, an ornament of cock's plumes for the head. According to Père Siméon (7) their heads were always shaved, and they are also described as having white beards and wearing collars made of boars' tusks (14, pp. 63-65). Stewart (26, p. 305) describes such a priest wearing a long white mantle and over it a shorter mantle of red imported cloth. It has already been pointed out that red was *tapu* to a certain deceased inspirational priest on Nuku Hiva. A woman now living in Pua Ma'u described to Mr. Linton a *tau'a* whom she saw wearing a red blanket in the sacred place of that valley. The iron-wood staff called *koto*, the form of which is unknown, and three fau sticks wrapped in cloth, were the distinguishing insignia of the *tau'a*. (See Sacred Precincts: The Inspirational Priest's House). Such priests were tattooed like other men.

Death and Deification of a Tau'a

On the occasion of the sickness of an inspirational priest a human sacrifice was offered (18, p. 149). It is said that when such a priest had died a leaf of fruit of a *noni* tree or of some other plant that irritated the skin or was otherwise offensive was placed on the body "so that the *tau'a* would not be hungry." The object of this was evidently to prevent the powerful spirit from lingering about the body. It was necessary that an inspirational priest should always die in the sacred precincts of the tribe, where a special house was built for his body. Following his death, there was a general *tapu* and the rites described under Death were performed: chanting, sacrifices, and treating of the body [according to Père Pierre (4), contradicted in Fatu Hiva]. According to Garcia (14, p. 45) from seven to ten victims were offered on the occasion of such rites, a victim being offered for the different parts of the body of the priest, for the head, eyes,

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hohoe were ***tapu*** to them, and they must eat alone. Two rites consecrated them, the first one called ***tuputu***, the main feature of which seems to have consisted in the initiate's eating ***ka'aku*** (see Preparation of Food) alone; and the second called ***pouhahati*** when there was drumming and chanting (7). Beyond this no details of these rites are known.

Tests by other members of the same profession, and contests between famous ***tuhuna o'ono*** of different tribes, were important events in the lives of these bards. Such contests were regarded as tribal affairs, and the contesting ***tuhuna*** were looked upon as tribal champions. When there was a great festival in the valley and there were visiting bards of other tribes, the local ***tuhuna*** (experts in crafts) would call together a meeting in a special house built for the purpose. Here before all those who were interested, and particularly the local and visiting ***tuhuna*** of all kinds, the local bards would match wits and learning with the visitors. If any bard were found in error by a consensus of opinion of the rest of the masters, he then and there ceased to be recognized as a ***tuhuna*** and could never again lay claim to this distinction. A type of chant called ***ui*** (see Chants) recounts such contests between champions of different tribes. More informal contests occurred between individuals who were learned in stories and chants. I was a witness of such an encounter in Fatu Hiva between an old woman who is recognized for her knowledge of lore and a younger man of Hiva Oa, who she had heard was teaching "the American" the ancient lore. It was believed by the natives that a defeated bard would die as the result of a defeat, which involved the loss of his power (***mana***). Some informants say that a defeated ***tuhuna*** was killed.

At times when he was not engaged in his professional activities the ***tuhuna o'ono*** lived in a home and with a family in just the same way as any other member of the tribe. When he was consecrated to tribal ceremonial he stayed in the sacred precincts and had nothing to do with his family or any outsiders. When he was consecrated to the work of teaching or recitation of chants for private rites, he resided at the place where his duties were being performed and was restricted from contact with outsiders in the same way.

At Pua Ma'u the ceremonial dress of the ***tuhuna o'ono*** consisted of a turban, loin cloth, and robe, all made of the red brown bark of the young banyan tree (***hiapo***). In this valley it would seem that the ***tuhuna o'ono*** and the ***tau'a*** wore red, while the assistants or sacrificers (***taputoho***) wore white.

Because of his sacred functions, the ***tuhuna o'ono*** was a very sacred person, although by no means so sacred as the inspirational priest, who represented the tribal god himself. The same rites were, however, per-

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flowing of the long hair of the ornaments when a man moved gave the effect of swiftness. The hair was usually that of relatives. When *ouoho* were made for a sacred child its *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts), both male and female according to one informant, but only the male *pahupahu* according to another, cut off their hair for the purpose. It was taken to a *tuhuna hana titi ouoho* who wrapped it on small sticks, bound these with leaves and baked the rolls in an oven of heated stones. The curled hair was then attached to a braided band of sennit. When a chief desired *ouoho* for his child his people were called upon to supply it. Hair of enemies was also used. The different ornaments made in this way had particular names. (See fig. 25, *e*.) The *titi ouoho ke'i* was a small skirt of hair worn around the waist. The large neck ornament or ruff was called *titi ouoho* or *taki ouoho*. Where the two ends met on the breast a large whale's tooth was usually suspended. According to a Nuku Hiva informant this neck piece was called *hope moa* and sometimes covered the whole back. Dordillon (9) gives *titi hope* as meaning a hair ornament worn on the back, and he gives as the meaning of *hope moa*, a hair ornament worn around the waist. The wristlets were called *moputu ouoho, papatu ouoho, tope pu*, or *poe ima*. *Poe ouoho* were the small anklets of hair—these anklets were frequently made of black feathers instead of hair, and were then called *poe hu'u manu*. A generic term for these ankle ornaments was *poe vaevae*. Dordillon (8) gives *toke ouoho* as meaning a hair ornament for the loins; and distinguishes *taki ouoho* for the neck, and *titi ouoho* for the shoulders.

HEADRESSES

The word *pa'e* was a generic term applied to head coverings and headdress. Elaborate headdresses were made by *tuhuna* who specialized in the art and were paid for their work in pigs.

The *pa'e kea* (see fig. 24, *d*) was the typical festival headdress of Hiva Oa and was peculiar to that island. It was a crown made of elaborate plaques of white shell and carved tortoise-shell (*kea, tortoise*) bound on a band of closely woven sennit which was decorated with buttons and small plaques of pearl shells with a superimposed tortoise-shell carving. *Pa'e koho* was the Nuku Hiva name for this crown. It is said that one of these could not be paid for with land because it was worn on the head and was therefore *tapu*: the land which was given in payment for *pa'e kea* would be likely to be trod upon by a woman, in which case the head wearing the *pa'e kea* would receive the insult. Fine *pa'e kea* were considered family rather than individual possessions, were passed on from generation to generation, and worn by different members of the family.

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292 237 The headdress typical of Nuku Hiva was the *pa'e ku'a* (fig. 24, *e*) headdress, made of green and red feathers attached to a coconut sheath and bark cloth background. It must have been very rare at all times as there is no description of it by early visitors so far as I know, and as it appears to be rare as a museum specimen. There is conflicting evidence regarding the feathers used on this ornament. Dordillon (8) speaks of its being made of feathers of the dove (*kuku*)—the green feathers are undoubtedly those of the dove. The red feathers may be those from the heads of a certain variety of the dove, but informants on Nuku Hiva claim that the red feathers came from the bird called the *manu ku'a*, which lived formerly on the high desert-land of western Nuku Hiva, but which is now extinct. On Hiva Oa it is believed that voyages were made to A'o Tona (Rarotonga) for the sake of getting feathers of the *manu ku'a*. One informant on Nuku Hiva insisted that the *pa'e ku'a* was worn on the chest and not on the head, but this seems doubtful on account of the name. This headdress seems to have been typical of Nuku Hiva, where it was worn both by chiefs and chiefesses, but it was known on Hiva Oa. Informants from Hiva Oa described the *pa'e ku'a* to me as a headdress made of red cock's plumes.

The *peue ei, peue taki ei, or peue koio* (fig. 23, *b*) was a crown made of porpoise-teeth attached to a band of closely woven sennit, the attachments being ornamented with beads. This headdress was the product of the island of Ua Pou, where many porpoises were caught. (See Fishing.) It was an article of trade for that island with Tahu Ata and Hiva Oa. Dordillon (8) defines *peue* as a head ornament made of feathers in the form of a vizor.

292 The *hei ku'a* is said to be a headdress, but its form and its name (*hei*) would suggest that it was worn on the breast. The accompanying sketch (fig. 25, *d*) is based on an imperfect specimen of a *hei ku'a* now in the Bishop Museum. Dordillon defines *hei ku'a* as a head ornament made of red plumes. At Pua Ma'u I was told that the inspirational priest there wore the *hei ku'a*, but another informant said that women who danced wore it. At Haka Ui, Nuku Hiva, a good informant said that it was worn on the neck by *tuhuka*. Another head ornament made of long cock's plumes was the *hei mekameka*, or *hei pe'ape'a*.

The *te'avaha*, sometimes called *vitake* (9), was a headdress consisting of a semicircle of long cock's plumes surmounting a pearl-shell disk. Early writers describe these as being worn by warriors on Nuku Hiva and on Tahu Ata, and modern informants on Hiva Oa say they were also worn there. One made of the white feathers of the tropic bird was described to

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Mrs. Handy on Hiva Oa. Stewart gives an excellent description of this headdress. (See Descriptions of Dress by Early Writers and The Warrior's Dress).

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FIGURE 23.—Ornaments for the head and ears: *a*, warrior's headpiece made of shell (*uhikaua*); *b*, woman's porpoise-tooth headdress (*peue ei*); *c*, ear ornament made of whale's tooth (*kakahai*); *d*, ear ornament carved of human bone (*toiaua*); *e*, woman's tortoise shell ear ornament; *f*, carved ear-piercer.

The *uhi kaua* was a large pearl-shell held in place over the forehead by a woven sennit head band. On the pearl-shell was an appliqued tortoise-shell design (fig. 23, *a*).

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A feather headdress made by binding the neck and breast feathers of a black chicken on sennit was called *tuetue*. A braid of sennit with feathers and porpoise teeth attached to it hung down on one side, lying on the wearer's breast. Just how the *tuetue* was worn and what it looked like I do not know. What Krusenstern (16, p. 157) speaks of as a helmet in the following quotation is probably the *tuetue*. "The headdress consists either of a large helmet of black cock's feathers, or of a kind of diadem."

Aigrettes consisting of tail feathers of the tropic-bird (*tu'a, pa'e tu'a*) were worn above the forehead by women—according to one informant it always consisted of twelve feathers. The *pe'a* was an aigrette of the same kind, made, however, of the tail feathers of the cock.

The most common ceremonial headdress was the *pa'e koua'ehi*, consisting of a part of a green coconut leaf, placed over the front of the head so that the fronds could be brought around the head and fastened behind. What is spoken of as the *pa'e hei pepe atua*, a priest's headdress the form of which is unknown to modern informants, is probably the same as *pa'e koua'ehi*.

The temple assistants (*taputoho*) at Pua Ma'u wore on their heads turbans (*pa'e kohito*) of dark-colored cloth made of the bark of very old paper mulberry stalks pounded roughly. The cloth is said to have been wrapped around the head and tied with a knot in the back, leaving a piece hanging down behind. The *pa'e hiapo* was a turban of the same form made of banyan bark, also used as ceremonial dress.

Dordillon gives *pona ivi* as meaning a cloth or headband knotted on the forehead. Other terms referring to headbands and headcloths are *tahiha, waka*, and *ioka*. The *pa'e koti'oho* was a band of white cloth worn around the head. Dordillon defines *tete ponio* as a head ornament made with seeds of a vine called *ponio*.

EAR ORNAMENTS

Ear ornaments, the general name for which was *okaoka*, were worn by both men and women. The more valuable types (*kakaki, taiana*) were among the most coveted of possessions—they were family heirlooms.

The piercing of the lobe of the ear, an operation called *oka* or *tui i te pueina*, was accomplished by means of a carved tortoise-shell or bone instrument (fig. 23, *f*). The piercing of the ears of a chief's daughter was celebrated by a great feast. (See Rites of Childhood and Youth.)

Both men and women wore *ka'akai* or *kakaki*, ear ornaments carved of whale's teeth in the form shown in the accompanying sketch (fig. 23, *e*). The large end was worn in front of the ear. A band passing over the head

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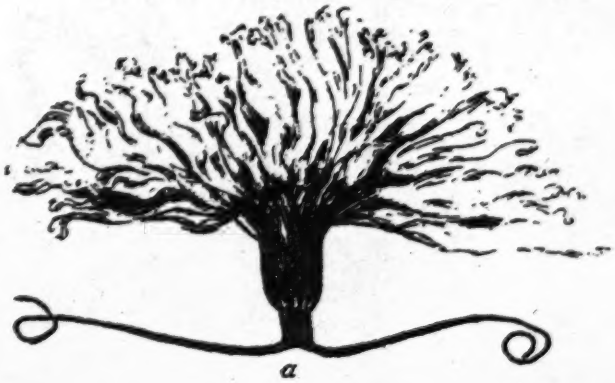

a

[302]

b

c

d

e

f

FIGURE 25.—Ornaments: *a*, ornaments made of the beard of an old man (*paeahiua*); *b*, gorget made of wood and seed (after Edge-Partington and Heape, Series I, 45, No. 2); *c*, a man's style of hair dressing called *taatiki* (after Langsdorff—18, p. 119, pl. vii); *d*, feather ornament (*hei hu'a*); *e*, shoulder, waist, wrist, and ankle ornaments made of human hair (*ouoho*); *f*, chiefess's staff ornamented with human hair (*to'o to'o pio'o*).

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293 The *to'oto'o pio'o* (*tokotoko pio'o*) was a staff surmounted by a tuft of curled black hair. Around the upper end of the staff, immediately below the tuft of hair, was a finely woven band with design in colored

[532]

FIGURE 26.—Fans: *a*, ceremonial fan; *b*, detail of carving of a fan handle, front view; *c*, detail of carving of a fan handle, side view.

sennit (see fig. 25, *f*). These staffs were insignia for both chiefs and chiefesses.

DESCRIPTIONS OF DRESS BY EARLY VISITORS

291 The following descriptions selected from the writings of early visitors will give a better picture of the appearance and ensemble of costumes of 292 various types than is gained from the above detailed study.

Stewart (26, pp. 223-225) describes a warrior's costume. He says that the headdress (a *to'ovaka*) was—

> . . . a crescent, three or four inches broad at its greatest breadth, fixed uprightly in front, the lower edge following the line of the hair on the forehead, and the points terminating at each temple immediately above the ears. A neat border, the eighth of an inch wide, ran round the edges in a herring-bone pattern of alternate black and white, while the middle was entirely filled with the small, scarlet

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

berries of the *Abrus precatorius*, fastened upon the material of hich it was constructed by a gum which exudes from the bread-fruit tree. The crescent formed the front of a cap fitting closely to the head behind, and the foundation in which the heavy plumage surmounting it is fixed. This plumage consisted of the long, black, and burnished tail-feathers of the cock, the finest I ever saw, those in the centre being more than two feet in length. They were arranged behind the front-piece as closely as possible, and in such a manner as to form the shape of a deeply pointed chapeau, placed crosswise on the head, the feathers in the centre standing perpendicularly, and becoming more and more vertical till the lowest at the edges drooped deeply over the shoulders. The ends, falling from the highest point above the forehead one over another in a regularly defined curve on either side, played in the air with the gracefullness of an ostrich plume, and imparted to the whole an appearance of richness and taste we had not been led to expect from any of the decorations of the country previously seen.

In their ears, and entirely concealing them, they wore ornaments of light wood whitened with pipe clay. They are perfectly flat in front, something in the shape of the natural ear, but much larger, and are fastened by running a long projection on the hind part through slits made in the ears for receiving such ornaments. Strings of whale's teeth hung around their necks, and frizzled bunches of human hair were tied around their wrists and ankles; their loins also being gift with thick tufts of the same over large maros of white tapa. Short mantles of white cloth tied in a knot on the chest, and floating gracefully in the wind from their shoulders, with long spears, completed the costume.

The same writer gives some good descriptions of ceremonial dress:

The *Tuhunas* have a distinctive dress, consisting of a cap formed from a coconut leaf [the *pa'e koua'ehi*]. A part of the stem, six or eight inches in length, is placed perpendicularly over the forehead, and the leaflets still attached to it are passed round the head on each side, and neatly fastened together behind. Besides this article on the head, they wear a cape of the same material [the *kahu koua'ehi*]. In this the stem is split till within an inch or two of one of the ends, it is then passed round the neck, so that the extremities rest on each shoulder, and the separated ends are tied together. The ribs running through the leaflets being taken out, they hang gracefully over the chest and back. These article are usually worn by them on ordinary occasions, and always when in discharge of the services connected with their office (26, p. 248).

Elsewhere (26, p. 264) he describes a

messenger dressed in a large quantity of white cloth, wearing on his head a bandeau of white with bows surmounted by a mitre-shaped cap, formed of the green leaf of a banana tree. Besides the fan in his hand, he bore on his shoulder a long pole from which were suspended seven white scarfs, tied into bows at the ends, in a manner similar to those used in our own country.

For the following description of women's dress we are indebted to Porter (24, pp. 96-97):

The dress of the women is handsome, and far from being immodest; it has already been in part described, but a more minute description may not be unsatisfactory. It consists of three parts only: the head-dress, the robe, and the pareu worn as the petticoat: the first is called *pahhee* [*pa'e*], the second *cahu* [*kahu*], and

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

291 292 the third uhuwahee [?]. The *pohhee* consists of a remarkably fine and white piece of paper cloth, of open texture, and much resembling a species of fine gauze, called by us spider's web; this is put on in a very neat and tasty manner, and greatly resembles a close cap. The hair is put up gracefully in a knot behind, and the head, when dressed in this manner, bears no slight resemblance to the prevailing fashion of the present day in America. The cahu consists of a long and flowing piece of paper-cloth, of a close and strong texture, which envelopes the body, extending to the ankles, and has its upper corners tastily knotted on one shoulder, having frequently the whole of the opposite arm, and part, and sometimes the whole, of the breast exposed. They display many graces in the use of this part of the dress, sporting the knot sometimes on one shoulder, and sometimes on the other, at times carefully concealing, and at others exposing their charms. Sometimes the knot it brought in front, when the whole bosom is exposed to view; at other times it is thrown behind, to display a well-formed back and shoulders, or a slender waist.

Cloth head bands and turbans are described by Stewart (26, p. 230) as follows:

White appears to be the favourite hue, especially for decorations of the head. Their turbans are of various shapes; the most common consists of a piece of native cloth, of the size of an ordinary pocket-handkerchief, bound closely to the head, having the ends twisted into a large knot immediately in front or on one side over the temple. The ends of others are longer, and formed into large puffs or cockades on the top or sides. In some there is an opening on the crown for the hair, which, tied closely to the head, then hangs down in ringlets in the neck and shoulders. Some wear fillets or bandeaux only, either with or without bows or hanging ends, and many leave their black tresses entirely unconfined and flowing carelessly over their mantles.

The following (26, pp. 235-236) are descriptions of the appearance of festival dress:

[The dress of a male dancer] consisted of a large quantity of white human hair, worn high and much frizzled around his head, of heavy bunches of the same material, but black, about the wrist and ankles, and of a profuse quantity of white cloth around the loins as a maro. That of the boys was more striking and fanciful. One wore on his head the feathered helmet and other decorations of the ear and neck of a warrior, the cap and plumage being of a height equal to all the rest of his figure. Above his girdle, was a full sash of white cloth, tied in a large bow with long ends in front, and from it four white cords of platted tapa, two behind and two before, de-
[301] scended to the knee, each terminating in monstrous tassels of black hair, fastened to flat circular pieces of wood, whitened with pipe clay. His waist, wrists, and ankles were also hung with the same, and in either hand he held a small tuft of white.

The head-dress of the other was a bandeau of white cloth in a thick roll over the forehead, and above this a wreath of black feathers, surmounted by a high ornament of white tapa gathered into folds at the frontlet, and spreading above into a large cockade in the shape of a peacock's tail, the whole having an airy and tasteful appear-
[301] ance. His necklace was composed of alternate bunches of a brightly shining aromatic vine and the flower of the cape jessamine, while his maro of the purest white, arranged in neat folds, was intertwined with garlands of the same.

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

the whole of what was served up was dispatched in an instant. His relish of the pancakes was no matter of surprise to me, being aware that savages in general, like children, are fond of sweet things the first time of tasting them; but when I saw him drink port wine, glass for glass, with us, I own I was astonished: he afterwards, however, felt the effects of it in their full force. 1804. May.

The next morning, I received from the queen a message, that if I would send my boat on shore, she would come with some of her relations to see me; adding, that a taboo being imposed on her, she was forbidden to go into a canoe, or to swim. I complied with this agreeable request immediately; and about noon I had the pleasure of seeing the queen, her daughter, and the Goddess of the Bay in my cabin. They remained with us a considerable time, and were regaled with tea, sweetmeats, and other delicacies. Our presents of knives, scissars, and looking-glasses, however, pleased them most, and especially the Goddess of the Bay, who was so enchanted with her reception, that she appeared unwilling to leave the ship. Our royal guests, on this occasion, were dressed in yellow cloth made of the bark of a particular tree, and had their bodies smeared with oil of cocoa-nut, mixed with a kind of yellow paint, which affected our olfactory nerves in no very agreeable way: but this could no more be dispensed with by a Marquesan woman, when full-dressed, than rouge and eau de Cologne by an European lady of fashion. The handsomest of my party was certainly the Goddess, whose name was Anataena. She was a daughter of the king of another bay in the island, called Houmé, and owed her title of divinity to her marriage. These personages having left us, I granted to other females the long desired permission to visit the ship and satisfy their curiosity. 14th.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

FIBER AND CORDAGE

The material most commonly used for Marquesan cordage appears to have been the bark of the fau tree. The bark was obtained from young shoots two inches or less in diameter and was prepared as follows: The stripped bark was soaked for several days in a taro patch or in the backwater of a stream, left until the membrane connecting the inner and outer bark had been destroyed and the outer layer had begun to decay. The inner bark was then separated, scraped, and soaked for two or three days in fresh running water. It was then spread out and dried in the sun. Almost every native household has a bundle of this dried bark, strips of which are used for all the purposes for which Europeans employ string.

True cordage was made from the dried bark by either twisting or plaiting. Heavy rope was twisted from two or usually three strands. In manufacture the direction of rotation was the same as in European rope. In order to make the rope smooth and of uniform diameter, the bark was cut in lengths of two or three feet which were worked in gradually as the twisting progressed. The finished product was somewhat softer and more flexible than a hemp rope and when new was almost equally strong, but it did not wear as well as hemp. Twisted bark rope is still manufactured to a limited extent. The heaviest made is about one inch in diameter. In ancient times much larger ropes were made, but no examples seem to have survived. Light cords and small strings were made by rolling the bark on the thigh.

Small ropes and heavy cords were usually plaited, the bark being prepared as in rope twisting except that it was not cut into short lengths.

The strands were first loosely knotted together and held by the toes until enough cord had been braided to permit of attachment to a tree or post. The plaiting was then done in the ordinary European direction, that is, toward the workman. In cords ending in a flat loop the body of the cord was frequently twisted and the loop plaited. Three, four, six, seven, and eight strand plaits were used, but only the three and four strand plaits, called respectively *tou'a* and *fofii*, were used for ordinary cordage.

Rope of seven strands was used for certain ceremonial purposes (32). The six and eight strand plaits form flat bands, and are still used for the leg ends of pig tethers. (See Pl. LXV, *A*.) Although most of the natives are familiar with these techniques, none of the informants questioned were able to give a name for them.

Practically all fau bark cordage was utilitarian, although slender black cord of this material was used with other material in a few ornaments. In the feather headdress (*paekua*) it was plaited with tapa cord to form a black and white edging. The cords of the large fish net (*upena*) were dyed red with earth

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302 house for seven or eight days, at the end of which time the skin was bleached. Jardin (33, pp. 32-59) says the natives of Nuku Hiva used the sap of the *mou* (*Siegesbeckia orientalis*) as a skin bleach, rubbing the skin with the crushed leaves the day before a fête.

Skin bleaching seems to have been almost confined to the women, although Stewart (59, pp. 259-260) mentions a male dancer, whose skin had been bleached in this way, who was "almost as fair as any one of our number." The light color produced in this way lasted for only a short time, exposure to the sun causing the skin to reassume its normal brown tint.

SPECIAL COSTUMES

292 Special costumes were worn by priests in the performance of their duties. According to Handy the ceremonial dress of the *ta'ua* of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, was a full length robe of tapa made from the thick bark of old banyan trees. It covered the whole body and came to the ground, and was likened by the natives to a priest's cassock. It was called *kahu kohito*.

Stewart, writing of Nuku Hiva, says (59, pp. 271-272):

> The Tahumas have a distinctive dress, consisting of a cap formed from a coconut leaf. A part of the stem, six to eight inches in length, is placed perpendicularly over the forehead, and the leaflets still attached to it are passed around the head on each side and neatly fastened together behind. Besides this article on the head, they wear a cape of the same material. In this the stem is split till within an inch or two of one of the ends: it is then passed around the neck so that the extremities rest on each shoulder, and the separated ends are tied together. The ribs running through the leaflets being taken out, they hang gracefully over the chest and back. These articles are usually worn by them on ordinary occasions, and always when in discharge of the services connected with their office.

He describes the dress of a *ta'ua* whom he visited as follows (59, p. 328):

> His whole figure was enveloped in a large mantle of snow white tapa, or native cloth, over which a smaller one of fine scarlet kerseymere fell from his shoulders down the back —both being fastened by one large knot, resting on the chest in front. A double roll of fine white tapa encircled his forehead: while his hair, tied in two close knots, was confined on the crown by long bands of the same.

According to Handy the *taputoho* at Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, wore a long cloak of *ute* tapa, like a blanket, which was called *kahu kookoo*, and a peculiar dark colored headdress called *pae kohito*. This headdress was made from the bark of an old *ute* tree which was slightly pounded, and left rough. It was tied around the head and knotted behind with a piece hanging down.

Stewart (59, p. 288) describes the dress of a messenger bearing invitations to a funeral as follows:

> [He] was dressed in a large quantity of white cloth, wearing on his head a bandeau of white with bows, surmounted by a miter shaped cap, formed of the green leaf of a banana

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tree. Besides the fan in his hand, he bore on his shoulder a long pole from which were suspended seven white scarfs, tied into bows at the ends, in a manner similar to those used in our own country. 292

Stewart describes also the dress of two boys who performed at a fête which he attended (59, pp. 259-260):

> One wore on his head the feather helmet and other decorations of the ear and neck of a warrior—the cap being of equal height to all the rest of his figure. About his girdle was a full sash of white cloth tied in a large bow with long ends in front; and from it four white cords of plaited tapa, two behind and two before, descended to the knee—each terminating in monsterous tassels of black hair, fastened to flat circular pieces of wood, whitened with pipe clay. His waist, wrists, and ankles were also hung with the same, and in either hand he held a small tuft of white.
>
> The headdress of the other was a bandeau of white cloth, in a thick roll over the forehead; and above this a wreath of black feathers, surmounted by a high ornament of white tapa gathered into folds at the frontlet, and spreading above into a large cockade in the shape of a peacock's tail—the whole having an airy and tasteful appearance. His necklace was composed of alternate bunches of a brightly shining aromatic vine, and the flowers of the cape jessamine; while his maro, of the purest white, arranged in neat folds, was intertwined with garlands of the same.

Langsdorff (38, p. 172) says that women used green boughs or banana leaves as parasols. Fleuriu states (23, p. 116): "One should count also among their ornaments . . . parasols made of large palm leaves, which they ornament with feathers of different sizes and colors." None of these parasols have survived. 293

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EAR ORNAMENTS WORN BY MEN OR WOMEN

301 The pair of very simple ear ornaments shown on Plate LXXIX, *D* are made from heavy white shell, probably the lip of the Tridacna. One end is carved in imitation of the caps on women's ear ornaments of the *taiana* type. The remainder of the ornament is a simple spur, which, in one specimen, is perforated about midway between the base of the large end and the tip. It has been suggested that these objects were used to keep open freshly perforated holes in the ears.

A number of ear ornaments which appear to be intermediate between the *taiana* and *haakai* types have been preserved. Certain specimens in the American Museum of Natural History are shaped and carved like the spurs of the *haakai*, but are provided at the forward ends with shell caps identical with those used on the *taiana*. A specimen in the Peabody Museum of Harvard University resembles still more closely the spur of a *haakai*. It is made of whale ivory, and has a tiki figure in high relief carved on one side and two smaller figures on the tip. The inner end is blunt and irregular, but there are no indications that it has ever been attached to a disc. It was probably fitted with a shell cap. A specimen in the American Museum of Natural History seems to be a modification of the *haakai* type, but is made from shell. The forward end is worked into a disc considerably larger than the usual shell cap, while the spur is carved with a tiki figure in high relief.

COMPARISON

301 171 The only Marquesan ear ornament for which there is any parallel in the Pacific is that made from tortoise shell, porpoise teeth and beads. This ornament bears some slight resemblance to those worn on the Island of Yap, of which Furness (74, p. 62) says:

> [This] ear ornament is a piece of thin tortoise shell, about a third of an inch wide, bent in the form of a "U"; this is hooked in the lobe of the ear and from the outer ends are suspended little strings of beads.

The more typical Marquesan ornaments of bone, shell and ivory are unlike those used in any other part of Oceania, and must be considered as a local development. The peculiar practice of placing the most highly decorated part of the ornament behind the ear, where it can be seen only on side view, is almost unique.

HEADDRESSES

292 237 A great variety of headdresses were used by the Marquesans. In Nuku Hiva at least the most important of these appears to have been a crest of black cocks' plumes, called *taavaha* or *taavaha pepana* (Handy). A well preserved

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

ornament of this sort, now in the Peabody Museum of Salem, is shown on Plate LXXX, *A*, 2. 232 237

The ornament consists of two feathered bands, of identical construction, placed side by side and fastened together by wrappings of sennit at intervals of three or four inches. The ends of the bands are enclosed in a longer wrapping; each band consists of a heavy core of twisted coconut fiber over which there is a continuous sennit wrapping. The plumes are closely spaced and have been laid on with their quills against the core, each quill being held in place by two or three turns of the wrapping. Great care was taken to place the plumes so that their natural curve caused those on each half of the band to incline outward and away from the center. Heavy sennit cords, probably a continuation of the fiber in the cores of the bands, spring from either end of the ornament. Other cords of fau bark are attached to the ends of the sennit cords.

The *taatuha* was worn across the forward part of the head, a little back of the forehead, with the plumes rising vertically. The cords at its ends were tied under the chin, like bonnet strings. It was primarily a man's ornament, but was sometimes worn by women dancers at fetes.

Gracia (28, p. 134) says that about 500 feathers were required for a *taatuha*, and that each cock had only two feathers which would serve, so that it was necessary to despoil over 200 cocks to make a single ornament. At the time of his visit a *taatuha* was valued at a gun.

A modified form of the *taatuha* is shown on Plate LXXX, *A*, 1. The bands which form the base of this ornament are like those in the one just described, but the workmanship is not so good. The feathers are much shorter and appear to be cocks' tail coverts. They are made up in small bunches of three to five feathers each, with the quill ends enclosed in short sennit wrappings. The bunches are attached to the cores of the bands by a method resembling that used in attaching the small locks of hair in hair ornaments.

Stewart (59, pp. 247-249) describes still another modification of the *taatuha*. He says:

It [the headdress] consists of a crescent three or four inches broad at its greatest breadth, fixed uprightly in front, the lower edge following the line of the hair on the forehead, and the points terminating at each temple immediately above the ears. A neat border, an eighth of an inch wide, ran around the edges in a herring bone pattern of alternate black and white—while the middle was entirely filled with the small scarlet berries of the *Abrus precatorius*, fastened upon the material of which it was constructed by a gum which exudes from the breadfruit tree. [Compare this description with the gorget (?) shown on Pl. LXXVIII, *C*, 2.] The crescent formed the front of a cap, fitting closely to the head behind, and the foundation in which the heavy plumage surmounting it is fixed. This plumage consisted of the long black and burnished tail feathers of the cock—the finest I ever saw; those in the center being more than two feet in length. They were arranged behind the front piece as closely as possible, and in such a manner, as to form the shape of a deeply pointed chapeau, placed crosswise on the head—the feathers in the center standing perpendicular, and becoming more and more vertical, till the lowest at the edges drooped deeply over the shoulders. The ends—falling, from the highest point above the forehead, one over another in a regularly defined curve on either side—played in the air with the gracefulness of an ostrich plume, and imparted to the whole an appearance of richness and taste we had not been led to expect from any of the decorations of the country previously seen. [824]

According to Handy a headdress made from the white feathers of the *vuki* bird was also called *taatuha*.

Gracia (28, p. 134) says: "Oftentimes a bunch of other more curious feathers of sea birds, in the form of a plume, are worn at the top or back of the

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

292 237 head in addition to the large *taatvaha*." This probably refers to ornaments of the same general type as that shown on Plate LXXX, *A*, 3, which were made of unusually long tail feathers of the tropic bird attached to a smooth stick by wrappings of fine sennit. The principle of attachment appears to be much the same as that used in the large *taatvaha* except that the plumes entirely surround the stick instead of running only along one side of the band. The lower end of the carefully smoothed stick projects for some distance, suggesting that the ornament was thrust into a coil of hair.

Perhaps the most beautiful of the Marquesan headdresses was the *paekua*, shown on Plate LXXX, *B*. Only two of these ornaments were seen, but these agree so closely in all details of construction and decoration as to suggest that the type was a fixed one. It is rather interesting that one of the specimens contains a few peacock feathers, proving it to be post-European.

The body of the *paekua* is made up of three strips of featherwork. Each strip is broadest in the middle and tapers to a point at either end. A piece of large bamboo, flattened and scraped to paper thinness serves as a base for the featherwork. Over this are laid one or more layers of fine white tapa, which fit the bamboo so closely as to suggest that they were put on while the tapa was wet. The feathers, all of which are small, are glued to this tapa with breadfruit gum. To give additional security the whole strip is wrapped with single strands of some stiff white fiber—probably banana fiber. In a perfect specimen these wrappings are concealed by the feathers, but in the one figured the wrappings, tapa pad, and bamboo base are all visible. The feathers are laid on in irregular overlapping rows, the work progressing from both ends and meeting in the middle.

The tapa pad varies in thickness in the different strips composing the ornament, being heaviest in the top and bottom strips, less heavy on the ends of the central strip, and thinnest at the center of the central strip.

The three strips are pasted side by side upon a single large piece of coconut leaf sheath, whose natural stiffness serves to hold the ornament in shape. Along either edge, outside the strips, run three flat bands, or ribbons, plaited from strands of black dyed fau bark and white tapa. At either end of the ornament, between these bands, is a small triangular piece of white tapa which serves to cover the tips of the strips of feather work. Long tying strips, braided from tapa and black fau bark, are attached to either end of the ornament. In the specimen figured two tapa strings are fastened to the inside near the top center, suggesting that there was originally an additional ornament which projected above the *paekua*.

Green, yellow and red feathers were used. The first two colors were obtained from a species of dove, the *kuku*. The source of the red feathers is doubtful. The usual native story is that they were obtained from the *manu kua*, a red bird long extinct, which lived on the plateaus of Nuku Hiva and Hiva Oa. In an account obtained in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, they are said to have been brought from a far off island called Aotona, which Handy identifies as Rarotonga. A species of *kuku* which has a red cap of the same shade as the feathers in the *paekua* occurs in Hiva Oa, and it seems probable that at least some of the feathers used were obtained from these birds. (It should be noted that Dordillon defines *paekua* as "head ornament of *kuku* feathers.")

The red, green and yellow feathers on each strip were arranged in vertical bands, the center of the middle strip being covered by a large block of red feathers. Two small designs in red, one of which appears in the illustration, were placed on either side of the centers of the outer strips.

The *paekua* is said to have been the ancient headdress of Nuku Hiva and also of the valley of Pua Ma'u in Hiva Oa. It is not mentioned by any of the early writers, however, and

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probably was always a rare and greatly valued ornament. A narrow band of featherwork, corresponding to one of the three strips in the large *paekua*, was worn as a headdress in Nuku Hiva. It was also called *paekua*. 292 237

According to Handy the *paekua* was worn by young chiefesses at fetes, and was also sometimes worn as a breast ornament. Its principal use, however, was as a man's headdress.

A few other types of feather headdresses seem to have been in use. Forster (25, pp. 15-16) says that some of the natives of Hiva Oa wore "round coronets of the small linguated feathers of the man-of-war bird." Stewart (59, p. 313) says that a *taua* (priest) seen by him in Nuku Hiva wore "a full wreath of red and white feathers, much soiled, in alternate bunches over the forehead and temples." From his notes and from Dordillon's dictionary Handy has compiled names of additional feather ornaments as follows:

Heiku: A wreath of red cock feathers worn by women to dance the *hakapahaka*. The feathers were attached to sennit.

Tua: An ornament of twelve upright *toake* feathers, which was worn on the forehead.

Hei mekameka: Head ornament of long cocks' plumes.

Kohepea: Long cocks' plumes attached to the end of a stick, worn as an ornament.

Koketafa: Aigrette of cocks' plumes on the end of a stick.

Pea: Long tail feathers of a cock. Aigrette of these feathers.

Peue: Head ornament of feathers in the form of a visor.

Tua: Aigrette of red feathers of the tropic bird.

A number of striking headdresses of materials other than feathers were also used by the Marquesans. 292 237 321

Wreaths or garlands of porpoise teeth (*pene ei*), worn principally by women, are still obtainable, although their manufacture has been discontinued for a number of years. The base of these ornaments is a band plaited from a number of strands of twisted coconut fiber. (See Pl. LXXXII, *A*.) The technique is identical with that employed for the bands of hair ornaments. The band is widest in the middle and tapers toward the ends, which are turned over and plaited back into the band on the outer side, forming stiff loops. Through these loops the tying strings, usually of white tapa, are passed.

The teeth were drilled through the root, and were attached as follows: A small bundle of fibers was released from every other cord on one half of the plait, threaded with beads and teeth, and its free end twisted into the corresponding cord on the opposite half of the plait. In almost all specimens both teeth and beads are used, each of the loops having six or more beads at each end and from 10 to 15 teeth in the middle. According to one informant, in ancient times small fish vertebrae were used instead of beads. In one specimen the beads are absent, the entire loop being threaded with teeth. It is evident that the twisting of the cords in the plait, the stringing of the loops, and the plaiting were carried on simultaneously.

In all the specimens examined, the teeth had apparently been drilled with metal tools. The perforations are remarkably small, and the teeth fit the cords on which they are strung so tightly that it is difficult to remove them even when the cords have been broken. Most, if not all, of the teeth used in these wreaths were obtained from the island of Ua Pou. An ordinary wreath contains from 1000 to 1500 teeth, and the demand evidently exceeded the supply, for several wreaths were seen which contained imitation teeth made of bone. A unique specimen, made entirely of bone, is shown on Plate LXXXII, *B*.

When not in use the wreath was straightened and a smooth rod, about half an inch in diameter was run through all the loops, between the teeth and the plaited band. The orna-

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292 237 ment was thus held rigid, reducing the danger of breakage. It was then rolled in several thicknesses of tapa. When the teeth in a wreath had become yellow or dirty they were scoured with fine sand.

321 A curious type of headdress (*paekaha*) is shown on Plate LXXXI, *A*. Its manufacture appears to have been limited to Hiva Oa, Tau Ata and Fatu Hiva. It apparently was not made in Ua Pou (Handy) nor in Nuku Hiva, although ornaments of this sort, obtained in trade, were sometimes worn in Nuku Hiva during the early historic period. Some informants of Hiva Oa say that it was not worn in Hiva Oa in ancient times, and ascribe it to Fatu Hiva.

The *paekaha* consists of a number of plaques of shell and tortoise shell which are attached to a band of woven coconut fiber. The warp strands run longitudinally, the weft strands passing back and forth across the band in a wrap weave. The direction of the wrapping is changed at regular intervals, producing an ornamental banded effect. The edges of the band are re-inforced by cords somewhat heavier than the regular warp strands, and its ends are finished in stiff loops. The form and weaving of the band is shown on Plate LXXXI, *C*. The outer surface of the band was originally covered with small discs of mother of pearl about the size of shirt buttons. A small toothed disc of tortoise shell was fastened to the center of each pearl disc. Machine made buttons of china and shell were introduced [177] by the traders at an early time, and soon supplanted the old pearl discs on these headdresses. The ends of the band were covered by pearl shell plates, overlaid with thin openwork strips of tortoise shell. The form and ordinary design of these plates can be seen on Plate LXXXI, *A*. The end plates were called *kaua*, the small discs, *kaua momo* (Handy).

The plaques, which form the principle part of the ornament, were fastened to the lower edge of the band. There seems to have been no fixed rule as to the number of plaques, but more than seven tortoise shell and eight shell plaques were rarely employed. They were attached to the band by coconut fibers passed through small holes drilled at their tops, and were fastened together near the lower ends in the same way. The shell plaques were made from large conch or Triton shells, and were highly polished on all surfaces. They were made from the lower end of the shell and preserved its natural curve. The tortoise shell plaques were two or three times as wide as the shell plaques, and were elaborately carved. The decoration usually consisted of a large highly conventialized human figure in the center, with panels of superposed smaller figures or designs on either side. A narrow band of designs ran across the lower end. The paces on each side of the head of the large central figure were pierced. In a few specimens the central figure was replaced by two smaller figures, but the examples shown on Plate LXXXI, *A*, *B* may be taken as typical. The most curious feature of this decoration is that, when the ornament was on the head, the figures were all upside down. This lends some support to the statement of one informant that the *paekaha* was originally worn with the plaques above instead of below the band, although all natives agree that in historic times it was worn with the plaques inverted.

The tortoise shell plaques were bent outward at the bottom, their curve conforming roughly to that of the shell plaques. When the ornament was on the head the lower edge flared outward over the eyes, like the visor of a cap. Many of the tortoise shell plaques are perforated at the lower edge, suggesting that small ornaments were suspended from them. An ornament of white beard (*pavahina*) was usually attached to the center of the *paekaa* band and projected above it.

The materials used in the *paekaha* were all obtained locally. Two varieties of tortoise shell bearing turtles were distinguished by the natives, the shell of one species being thick and easily worked, and that of the other thin and brittle. No method of cementing the plates together seems to have been known, and the way in which the tortoise shell plaques were bent has been forgotten. Tortoise shell was highly valued by the natives, and the white traders [177] met the demand by importing brown sheet celluloid. Many of the *paekaha* in American col-

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lections are of celluloid and the carving on such objects is often superior to that on those of genuine tortoise shell. There are indications that the traders went even further in the *packaha* trade, for the plaques in a specimen seen in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, seem to have been stamped in a mold. The material used was apparently vulcanized rubber. 292 237 321

Packaha were made by special *tahuna*, and according to Handy were paid for in pigs. Land was not legal tender in this case, because the *packaha* was worn on the head, and if a woman walked on the land given in payment it would be as though she stepped over the head of the owner of the *packaha*, a great defilement. The holes in the plaques were made with a pump drill and the carvings executed, in ancient times, with rats' teeth. [436] [784]

Packaha were worn by both men and women and in view of the large number preserved in collections it is rather curious that neither Cook nor Fleurieu mention them in their accounts of the southern islands although they speak of other headdresses for whose existence we have little other evidence. This would seem to strengthen the evidence for their Fatu Hivan origin, and it seems probable that they became popular in the other islands of the group only in historic times.

In contrast to this silence in regard to the *packaha* we have an abundance of early references to another sort of shell and tortoise shell headdress, the *uhikana* (Handy). Cook says (14, p. 309-310):

> Their principle headdress, and what appears to be their chief ornament, is a sort of broad fillet, curiously made of the fibers of the husks of cocoanuts. In the front is fixed a mother of pearl shell wrought round to the size of a tea saucer. Before that another, smaller, of very fine tortoise shell, and perforated in curious figures. Also before and in the center of that, is another round piece of mother of pearl, about the size of half a crown, and before this another piece of perforated tortoise shell the size of a shilling. Beside this decoration in front, some have it also on each side, but in smaller pieces; and all have fixed to them the tail feathers of cocks or tropic birds, which, when the fillet is tied on, stand upright; so that the whole together makes a very sightly ornament.

Plate LXXXI, *C* shows the back of one of these ornaments and the inside of the head band. The bands were plaited in the same way as those of the *packaha*. The pearl shell, of the largest size available, was ground to a regular outline and drilled near the center with two or more holes for attachment.

A very fine specimen, now in the Peabody Museum of Salem, is shown on Plate LXXXII, *C*. The final disc of tortoise shell is missing—possibly it was never there. The design on the large tortoise shell disc is of the same general type as that illustrated by Cook (14, p. 310). There are indications that two distinct conventions were employed in the carving of these discs.

> One convention was characterized by a round disc with elaborate tracery, and an absence of human figures. In the other the disc was oval and from the top center rose two large hooks, with their tips pointing outward. Radiating from the center of the oval were six rather large tiki heads, with the spaces between cut away. Bordering the oval, and joining the tops of the heads, was a continuous band, toothed on the outer edge and delicately pierced and traced. *Uhikana*, in which the oval discs were used, seem usually to have had the ends of the bands covered with plates of mother of pearl and tortoise shell like those used on *packea*. Those with round discs lacked the plates. It seems probable that these conventions represent local

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292 variations, but we have no data as to the locality from which the examples in American museums were collected.
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The construction of the feather ornaments attached to the *uhikana* is clearly shown in Plate LXXXI, *C*.

The base of the ornament is a straight stick 8 to 10 inches long, and about ½ an inch thick at the bottom and tapering to ¼ inch at the top. This is flattened on the sides. The feathers are laid on with their quills resting against the flat sides, and are held in place by a continuous wrapping of sennit, the work progressing from the top downward. The technique is thus essentially the same as that used in the *taevaha*. The lower ends of the ornaments are inserted between the shell and the band, and attached to the band by loops of sennit.

The *uhikana* was essentially a man's headdress, but does not seem to have been tapu to women. It was worn principally by warriors and dancers, and seems to have been used in all the islands of the group.

A sennit and pearl shell ornament of different type is preserved in the Peabody Museum of Harvard University. The nacre is in the form of small pear-shaped ovals, which are fastened point down upon a sennit band. The band appears to be plaited, and is certainly not woven as are the bands of *paekaha* and *uhikana*.

292 A peculiar object, probably a headdress, is shown on Plate LXXXII, *D*. It is made from small cords of twisted coconut fiber, and consists of a woven band from which hangs three rows of broad flat fringe.

Edge-Partington (20, p. 47) illustrates a head ornament consisting of a sennit band which bears, in the center of the front, a grotesque head, also woven of sennit, with nacre eyes and pointed teeth.

A few other headdresses are mentioned by early writers. Forster (25, pp. 15-16) says:

"Some wore . . . . a circle from which several ranges of twisted strings of coconut coir about two inches long, either of the natural color or dyed black diverged round the head." Krusenstern (34, pp. 156-159) mentions a headdress made of "a ring of soft wood, from which a row of strings is suspended." An informant in Hiva Oa said that a string headdress called *paeha'a* was used in ancient times, but could give no details of its form. It seems probable that it belonged to one of the types already mentioned.

Fleurieu (23, p. 113) says: "They wear a sort of helmet visor covered with white fabric on which different figures are painted in black."

Aigrettes made from old men's beards were frequently worn with the *peue ei* and *paekaha*, and probably with other ornaments as well. They were called *pavahina*. They seem to have been used in all the islands of the group, and [302] are represented in most museum collections. The beards were usually those of old male relatives, but an old man who was not a relative might be paid to let his beard grow for the purpose. The owner of such an ornament can usually give

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the name of the man whose beard was used, even when the *paʻahina* is several generations old. In spite of the surprising whiteness of the hair in some of these ornaments no method of artificial bleaching seems to have been employed. In almost every specimen there are a few black hairs sprinkled among the white, and rarely tresses of entirely black hair are included. 292

As may be seen from the illustration (Pl. LXXXII, *E*.) the *paʻahina* was made up from a great number of locks of hair.

To make one of these locks a long tress of hair was doubled over to form a loop through which a very fine cord of twisted coconut fiber was passed. The loop was then wrapped with a single strand of fiber. The two ends of the cord passing through the loop were twisted together to form a single heavier cord. The tresses, with their attached cords, were then gathered into bundles of from ten to thirty, the ends of the cords in each bundle being fastened together and wrapped with sennit in the same way that the individual tresses were wrapped. A sennit cord, heavier than the cords running to the tresses, was attached to the lower end of the bundle. To complete the ornament, from four to ten of these bundles were placed side by side in two parallel rows, and sewn together with single strands of fiber. The cords depending from the bundles were plaited together to form a flat pad, one-half to three-quarters of an inch long, through the lower edge of which passed a long cord which served for the attachment of the ornament. The method of attaching the *paʻahina* to the *peue ei*, and its appearance when in position, are shown on Plate LXXXII, *A*.

Black dyed sennit, or even cords of human hair, were sometimes used instead of ordinary sennit for wrapping the bundles. A crudely made *paʻahina*, in which the technique differs somewhat from that described, is shown on Plate LXXXII, *F*.

The pad and bundle wrappings of the *paʻahina* were sometimes whitened with lime or clay, and the ornaments are said to have been laid out in the dew for a few nights before a fete to clean and whiten them.

Paʻahina appear to have sometimes been worn on the body or limbs with or in place of the hair ornaments described on p. 424. A photograph of an old Nuku Hiva man in full dress shows a half circle of them worn around the chin as a false beard.

Dordillon gives two terms of considerable interest—*pae mamane*, which he translates "helmet," and *pae veinehae*, which he translates "mask." The existence of these terms appears to be the only evidence for the occurrence of either helmets or masks in the Marquesas.

Dordillon also gives three words for comb; *kofeu*, *paheu* and *pachu*. No Marquesan combs are preserved in American collections, and there are no indications that combs ever formed part of the Marquesan headdress. If they were used in prehistoric times they were probably toilet articles, not ornaments.

Carved bone tubes were sometimes attached to locks of hair as ornaments. 301 These were identical with those used on the fiber handles of containers and on the cords of large drums.

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LOCAL DIFFERENCES IN MATERIAL CULTURE

Although the material culture of the Marquesas seems to have been nearly uniform, a few local differences are known to have existed. Most of these differences seem to have consisted in a greater or less stressing of features common to the whole culture rather than in a clear-cut absence or presence of traits. In view of the trade and intercourse which are known to have existed in the group even in prehistoric times the survival of such differences seems to indicate that at some former time the local distinctions were still more pronounced. It is difficult at the present time to establish the extent of the local variation. The culture as a whole has broken down under European contact, and since the inter-tribal wars have ceased there has been a considerable movement of the native population. Ua Huka, in particular, is at present inhabited chiefly by persons born in other parts of the group.

For convenience of reference the local differences in materials and practice may be summarized as follows:

HOUSES

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
House Platforms	Large and well built	Small and less well built	Small and low
	Wide, some square	Long and narrow	Long and narrow
	Much cut stone	Cut stone rare	No cut stone
	Ornamental masonry	No ornamental masonry	No ornamental masonry
Pit for tapu objects	Common	Absent	Absent
Ridge Pole	Round	Round or many sided	(?)
Front Stringer	Round or square	Square or L shaped	Square or L shaped
Pitch of rear roof	Very steep	Less steep	(?)
Ornamental lashings	Extensively used	On roof only	(?)
Carved house posts	Rare or absent	Normal	Common
Ornamental stone images	Not used	Uncommon	Not used
Stone back rests	Rare or absent	Common	
Unique features of houses	Bamboo partitions	One grass house	
Opu type of popoi pounder	Not used	Common	Rare
Salt pounder	Rare	Not used	Not used
Shape of popoi trough	Short and broad	Long and narrow	Long and narrow

DRESS AND ORNAMENT

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
Tapa	Combined ute and breadfruit used (rare).	Combined ute and breadfruit not used	(?)
Tattooing	Designs predominantly angular, small naturalistic figures	Designs predominantly curvilinear, no naturalistic figures	Same as Hiva Oa
Tattooing Implements	Comb sometimes fixed permanently in handle.	Comb not fixed in handle	Comb not fixed in handle
Taavaha	Common	Less common	(?)
Incrusted head ornament	Present	Not recorded	Not recorded
Paekaha	Not made	Common	Common

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Polynesian literature will recognize immediately the resemblance of this to the Tahitian *arioi;* the words are cognates. The Marquesan group, however, was not a formal secret society and was limited to individuals within this age bracket. These young people were the principal entertainers for the tribe, being called upon to sing and dance at all ceremonies and feasts, for which they received liberal rewards. From time to time the *kaioi* would go on tour, performing their dances in the villages of other friendly groups. These trips would be announced as visits to the eldest child of the local chief, but were really planned in order to show other groups what fine dancers the *kaioi* were. The dancers would be feasted and given gifts after the entertainment.

The costume of the *kaioi* was elaborate, particularly that of eldest children, who were resplendent in hair ornaments, ruffs, anklets, etc. Their bodies were dyed a bright red, their bark-cloth garments bright yellow. The young people, the girls in particular, spent hours on bleaching processes. The Marquesans had discovered a preparation which removed most of the skin color. The girls would paint themselves all over with this stuff, sit in the shade until it was completely dry, then wash it off in the stream. They emerged from this process with skins as light as those of South Europeans, but exposure to the sun brought the color back in a day or two and they would have to start bleaching all over again.

The *kaioi* dances usually concluded with sexual exhibitions reminiscent of the modern Parisian peep-show. In addition to this, the girls of the *kaioi* group were expected to entertain visiting males sexually, and they took great pride in the number of men they could satisfy in an evening. Except for taboos in the case of siblings and parents, there was complete sexual license among these young people.

Instruction for the child did not begin until late in the *kaioi* period. Of course the children picked up plenty of things informally, but there was no regular instruction in arts or crafts until the child was in his late teens. The eldest children